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and racial antagonisms, the reasonable hope of permanent accomplishment of these ends lies in the education of the children and the youth of to-day, the men and the women of to-morrow. "Imitation enters into the very fastnesses of character," and the ideals held before the child determine to a great extent what the man will be. It is because of the strength of the appeal to the imagination that the proposed naval and military display at the Jamestown Exposition is capable of accomplishing so great harm. If we really wish to develop the spirit of mercy, rather than that of cruelty, to exalt reason rather than violence, why not depict "the enticing splendors of peace" instead of "the enticing splendors of war?"

The peace movement places the emphasis upon the man who can think, rather than upon the one who can fight; it would make right stronger than might, subordinate selfish interests to the common good, allay passion, promote self-control, and give to individual nation and race the opportunity to "set the noblest free."

"Prognostics told

Man's near approach; so in man's self arise
August anticipations, symbols, types
Of a dim splendor ever on before
In that eternal circle life pursues.
For men begin to pass their nature's bound
And find new hopes and cares which fast supplant
Their proper joys and griefs; they grow too great
For narrow creeds of right and wrong, which fade
Before the unmeasured thirst for good; while peace
Rises within them ever more and more."

The Home and the Waste of War.

BY MRS. ELLEN M. HENROTIN.

*Address at the National Arbitration and Peace Congress,
April 16, 1907.*

When in the past a question of international or national adjustment arose it was vain to ask what influence pro or con woman exerted over the decision, for, in truth, her voice was unheard; her non-success as a promoter of peace among nations is the test answer to the oft-repeated argument against extending her civil and political influence "that it is woman's indirect influence which counts in political and civil matters." When a war issue is raised the family or economic interests of women or children are, and have always been, completely ignored; though this disregard of home interests is usually disguised to both men and women by an appeal to love of country, or, to express it in the war language, "For home and native land." If by chance women do not respond immediately to so impersonal an issue, when it affects such precious interests, they are cited as poor creatures not worthy of their great opportunities. Woman has in the past accepted this role of passivity, has cherished it, even made a fetish of it; she has concurred with man in the dictum "Might makes right." Thus, in those countries where the military form of government prevails, it goes without the saying that the part which woman, by her labor, contributes to the fund which makes for civilization is held in light esteem, though so essential in reality, and that even her "indirect influence" is not acknowledged.

Woman conceives of the ideal man as expressing towards his country physical energy and forceful high spirits; while man conceives of woman towards the same demand as expressing passive endurance. As these two ideals permeate society, the influence on the home is

so great that in political matters woman has become practically non-expressive. False conceptions of patriotism, which pervade all nations, have done their part towards rendering her voiceless, while the splendid trappings of war, the rewards meted out to its heroes, which their women share, have dazzled the eyes and excited the imagination so that it is not surprising that women, as a group, have accepted the role of abettor and aider, in so far as a non-combatant possibly could do.

During the Civil War the women on both sides, instead of restraining, urged on the men; in the Austrian-Prussian and Franco-Prussian wars the same phenomenon was observed, as it was also in the South African and Russian-Japanese wars; perhaps slightly less in the Spanish-American war. When all the considerations are taken into account which should operate to influence women in favor of peace and arbitration, the attitude towards war which she has taken in the past is difficult to comprehend, for death or inevitable suffering comes to those she calls her own as its result, and even her own share is hard to bear, meaning, if she is the mother of a family, the uncertainty of her economic position, being deprived by absence or death of the one who should share the support and care of the children. The contending armies often sweep away her home, which involves the disintegration of its members; or, as in Cuba or South Africa, as an inmate of a reconcentrado camp she and her little ones are exposed to privation, disease and death. The sufferings of the women and children of Germany, France and the Netherlands, even since the Reformation, are almost beyond belief; thus her acquiescence is one of the most astounding results of the potency of the group opinion and its expression.

There are certain tendencies in present-day society that evince the fact that all nations are being aroused to a new conception of their responsibility towards war's waste, and among women it is natural, as it affects the home, that they chiefly are interested, though men and women alike are convinced that war is now too costly a game for nations to play. The self-supporting woman is more impressed by this thought, for she meets the realities of life and thus becomes a judge of relative values; being obliged to take her part in the competitive struggle for her daily bread, she learns the value of life and work; thus she understands economic waste. When the wage-earning woman marries and becomes a mother, she realizes the economic importance of the life of the husband and father,—as she knows actual conditions, she is increasingly unwilling to give up that life to the country; she desires to retain it for the benefit of the family. If the actual facts could be ascertained, it would be found that a much smaller percentage of married men enlisted, or offered to enlist, in the late Spanish-American war than did in the Civil War—largely due to the fact of the present changed point of view of women. As opportunities to secure a competency decrease from stress of population or otherwise, this tendency will increase. Perhaps one of the most convincing proofs of the subtle working of this influence was given in England when, after the South African war, the advisability of establishing the conscription was discussed. It was evident at once that the English people would not tolerate such a measure.

The education of children in this country has been free from the influence of military training; this is notably true of the spirit of the public-school teachings. After each war there inevitably arises a hysterical demand for more military training in public and private schools, but the practical common sense of an industrial democracy soon asserts itself, and the children are, in most instances, left to follow the ways of peace — at least until the boys reach the foot-ball age.

Woman is every day learning new methods of expressing herself — either as a member of a group or as an individual. One of the first efforts of her expression of what is to her a new-found truth is found in the falling birth-rate among those nations which make large demands on the family to maintain standing armies or great armaments. Among those nations, the women best fitted to bear and care for children refuse to bear sons at the call of what has become for them an absolute duty. The claim of the army on family life has seriously affected the birth-rate in France, where the women are notably intelligent and far-sighted observers of economic conditions. The government has offered prizes for large families, but the French women, with the Napoleonic wars of the past and the large standing army of to-day, will not be tempted by such a bribe. Were the United States to undertake frequent wars or "punitive expeditions," the same thing would take place in this country, for women are now resolved to have a voice in national discussions which so vitally touch the family life. It is a well-recognized fact, in all countries, that it is increasingly difficult to secure by enlistment men who are equal to the army requirements. In countries where there is no conscription, army men will acknowledge this difficulty, which undoubtedly is to be accounted for by the yet unrecognized, but potent, change in the home point of view towards army life and the soldier's profession.

This sounds in the reading very materialistic, but it is said "that civilization is an economic fact." Certain changes which industrial democracy operates to bring about in the spiritual realm are startling in their expression — it may well be that it will read new meanings into War and Peace.

If war's economic waste is great, what shall be said of its spiritual waste? The writer once heard the late General Walker say that the materialism and commercialism which prevail among men to so great an extent in the United States were, in his opinion, the result of the loss to the country, both in the North and the South, of the "men of the ideal" in our Civil War. Those who for love of home or for freedom's sake went to the front were of the quality of which poets, artists, priests

and authors are made; perhaps the churches have felt their loss more than any other agency which makes for righteousness. It may be that the lack of business ideality, the difficulty of making business dramatic, as it were, can also be accounted for by the fact of the excessive demand made on the lives of the men of the ideal, that those who were the most capable of putting the human side into business ventures, are gone, leaving the ultra-practical man of business in the ascendancy.

The apparent supremacy of American women on the cultured side of life over the men may also be explained, as they, as a group, were not at that time subjected to the same spiritual waste.

The world is always in need of the love and gracious influence of the daughters of men. In a civilization which boasts that woman's influence is all-powerful, she cannot raise her voice in the councils of the nations to urge moderation, conciliation; she cannot by her vote turn down war as "useless argument," — but she can emphasize the blessing of peace in the home, in society, by expressing her firm conviction that civilization is founded on "Peace on earth, goodwill toward men"; and this message she may carry into the marts of trade, into the social world, into the great Congress of Nations.

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